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The Christian Socialist

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THE POETRY OF JESUS

Brief Extracts from an Exquisite Rhapsody by Edwin Markham in the Christmas Cosmopolitan

THE career of Jesus was a romantic poem, an epic of passion and grief and heroic hope—one of the terrific tragedies in the Wars of God. It everywhere touches on the Ideal, the one eternal kingdom of poesy. It begins with a soft idyl of wonder and joy, passes through whirlwind and earthquake, rising at last to the white calm of eternity.

In the days of Herod the king there was an expectancy in all hearts, an upward looking on all faces. There was a rush of wings and a transport of holy passion up in the soft ethereal fields of air. Seraphs dipped their feet into the gray morning of our little world.

The clanging doors of the Temple of Janus were closed in peace. A beautiful and mysterious trembling was going out upon the hearts of men. Strange rumors were running on all roads. What long thoughts of things that have been and that will be passed over the wistful, wondering heart of the growing child. * * * * *

Now suddenly the young Messiah returned to Galilee and began to say, "Repent ye; for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." In the poetic passion of his spirit, he had rejected "the kingdoms of the world." He would establish a Kingdom of a higher order, a Kingdom founded on service and self-denial—a Kingdom that would be rejected by the proud prince and satisfied Pharisee, but welcomed by "the poor in spirit" and by those "who hunger and thirst after righteousness." So he set himself to the organization of a social order that should shift the center of spiritual gravity from a common greed to a common God, from private weal to the commonweal. The state was to be made the organ of Love. Sublime conception! this purpose to unite the sacred and the secular, to give the Spirit a working body in the world.

He was soon to utter his call to the work-weary millions: "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest." This was the first great cry of hope to the world's oppressed. At last the world-spirit was to be changed; and there was to be an order of things in which they who spread the feast of life should sit down at the table. Now was to be fulfilled Isaiah's great prophecy concerning the workers: "They shall build houses and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them. They shall not build and another inhabit: they shall not plant and another eat."

In the Sermon on the Mount he outlines the Constitution of the New Order, founded on unselfish service and lighted by the poet's dream. Here is the first great utterance of the politics of Jesus. Love must be given a working form: the Golden Rule must be made the working principle of life.

In the New Order no one will need to take thought for his life, "what he shall eat or what he shall drink; nor yet for his body, what he shall put on." These things will be provided in the Kingdom. All shall live the care-free life of the wild birds. It was the heroic purpose of Jesus to draw men out of their sterile prose life into the lyrical life of his Comrade Kingdom. This was the Kingdom that was to spread until it had in-brothered all nations and imparadised the earth.

Between his battle with a dead church and his labor with a lifeless following, his sacred strength was wasted; so that again and again he was forced to flee to the desert and the mountain to refresh himself in God. Little by little a lonely sublimity settled down upon his life. He was one man against the world. It is ever so: all prophets are rejected—Socrates is murdered, Dante is exiled. All are rejected till they pass from human vision: then their gospels of deliverance are translated into a fiction of compromise, or remanded to the shelf of scholarly speculation.

Now the hours run swiftly to the end. Soon the young seer is out on the Via Dolorosa, the way of sorrow to the hill of agony. They are sending to the cross the One whose only crime was his purpose to form a church that should be a Social Paradise, to build a state that should be a Fraternity. The King appeared and men had no throne for him but the Accursed Tree!

So runs in outline this life that was a poem, a poem struck through with chords of grief and tenderness, of faith and failure, of unreckoned valors and unpublished victories. It is an epic of service and sorrow, a story of treason and tragedy, ending in lofty harmonies of heroic hope and solemn joy.

The Angels' Song

BY EDWARD ELLIS CARR

It was worthy of the angels,—it was a song divine. The glad proclamation of "the new heaven and the new earth" rang in its perfect melody. The glory of God was inseparably connected with the welfare of mankind. Divinity was being lowered from the skies to relieve the sorrows of earth. Deity sought the manger-crib to be recognized thenceforth in every little child, however poor; it was donning the garb of the carpenter to show that productive labor is the work of God incarnate in the toiler. True labor is worship,—it is co-partnership with God in creation.

The true glory of God can never be seen by people whose purposes and methods of business are selfish. "Two thousand years of wrong" have largely blinded men's eyes to the highest glory. Only by unselfishness and justice may men qualify themselves to realize divinity. The pure in heart alone shall see God. And when the co-operative commonwealth is fully established there will be a sunburst of God's glory so bright and blessed that unbelief will vanish and "All shall know Him" who is joy eternal.

"Peace on earth, good will to men" is impossible under a system of warfare for the means of life, for a place at Father's table. The Golden Rule can never be applied to a dog-fight for the bone. Warfare in labor and business circles and between the nations for markets will be the rule; weariness, want and worry will crowd peace from the homes of the toilers, and fear, hate and strife will continue among the rich until mankind renounces competition in the production and distribution of wealth, until we recognize that "the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof" and that all men are his children with equal rights. Under the co-operative commonwealth "Peace" will reign the whole world around and "good will to men" will fire the hearts of all mankind. It is the hope of the ages. "Life's final star is brotherhood." The realm of love, peace, joy lies there. And its rapidly nearing splendor shines upon our upturned faces everywhere. Its glory will soon flood the world.

"Hearts of men upon earth
Never once still from their birth,
To rest as the wild waters rest
With the colors of heaven on their breast.

"Love, which is sunlight of peace,
Age on age to increase
Till wars and hatred are dead
And sorrow and shame shall cease.

"Peace upon earth and good will,
Souls that are gentle and still
Hear the sweet music of this
Far off, infinite bliss."

The books, entitled "The Captive City of God" by Richard Heath, have arrived from London. They are the Second Revised Edition with paper cover. Price 25 cts. Order before they are all gone.

TWO CHRISTMAS MORNINGS

BY JEAN RUSHMORE

MY baby, on this day, long, long ago,
A little Child first opened wide His eyes
Upon the world—not knowing then the woe
He came to ease, but just the faint surprise
Of babyhood at feeling life's first glow;
And He was Mary's, as you're *my* heart's prize.
And this my longing soul's great wish for you:
That love like His may bide within your heart;
That though the world-temptations shall ensue,
You may in some wise be His counterpart;
That grace of His may your dear life imbue,
And give you strength to do, and not to do.
Ah, baby mine, with lifetime just begun,
May you be true as Mary's little Son!

—Munsey's Magazine.

Trend of The Social Movement

BY GEORGE WILLIS COOKE

THE old individualism is passing away, and yet it does not die an easy death. The habit of it is in our life, and its spirit is entrenched in our conceptions of duty and opportunity. We are not to forget that the right to be ourselves has been won at too great a cost to be put aside from any speculative considerations. Why individualism is clung to is that it has an essential meaning for the life of to-day, and while it may be exercised unwisely and accepted on grounds which are false, it is necessary to any form of free life. Its excesses are what we must object to, and the failure of the old individualism to recognize the true social nature of man.

The eighteenth century stood for individualism, and the nineteenth for socialism. We are to anticipate that the twentieth century will bring a reconciliation of these principles, and enable us to recognize the genuine worth in each, and how they are but the two sides of the same truth. There can be no freedom without a social environment within which to exercise it; and there can be no government worthy the name which is not based on individual freedom. The protest against socialism, that it is in danger of becoming tyrannical and restrictive of individual freedom, is a perfectly valid one; but those who make it forget that under existing individualism the tendency is strongly towards anarchy and the domination of the forceful and self-seeking man. Which of these evils is the greater it is not easy to declare with judicial temper, but that they are both derogatory to the best human interests there can be no doubt.

That the many are ready to condemn socialism as likely to lead to the restriction of individual freedom is not occasion for surprise, for we have lived too long in an atmosphere of excessive individualism to be able to see readily the defects it daily presents to the liberated and critical mind. What we are moving towards is not an abandonment of individual freedom, initiative and property rights, nor yet an acceptance of the rule of government or the commune over all our interests, whether of labor, pleasure or thought. What we need is co-operation with individual opportunity. What we have won of capacity for individual initiative must be preserved, since it is vital to every kind of human growth; but we are also to recognize that all the great achievements of mankind have been secured by associative effort, and that this principle is essential to the future progress of the race.

We are entering upon a new era in social development. On every hand we see the signs of the new times. These signs are not read clearly by many who claim to be our leaders, but they are unmistakable in their significance. The trades union, the corporation, the trust, the co-operative society, and a thousand other indications are to be seen of the new life into which we are entering. On every hand protest is being made against the old individualism, and the new socialism is being prophesied of by many a voice. In the universities the word of to-day is that of social opportunity and obligation, and the books which are coming daily from the press are proclaiming the gospel of the social life. The modern doctrine of evolution gives sanction and purpose to this fresh demand for association as the only method through which the higher civilization can be reached.

While many a fear is expressed of the on-coming socialism, which is regarded as inevitable, those who voice this dread ignore the fact that they are themselves helping to bring forward what they would repel. The new demands of the industrial and commercial world require combination for success, and the trust responds to this call for associative activities. Competition is no longer either in theory or practice the omnipotent law of business, for the tendencies to contest are not what they were a few decades ago. Capital seeks capital as labor seeks labor, each finding its profit in combination. Whereas capital once repelled capital because held in other hands, now it seeks it as the only method of its successful increase. We protest most vigorously against the vast aggregations of wealth which control manufacturing, transportation, and business of every kind; and yet these tendencies show the trend of the new life, and indicate that we are living in a period of transition from individual to co-operative life.

What most of all is needed at this stage of social growth is a true theory of human association, that will assign the individual just recognition, and that will provide for the co-operative life a genuine limit and law. We have found the laws of planetary motion, the true inductions regarding biological phenomena, even to some extent the conditions of mental activity; but we have not yet reached a true basis for social theories.

But whatever the criticisms deserved by sociology and socialism, it must be kept in mind that they represent a new spirit and purpose in human life. They are seeking for results not yet attained by man on a large scale. They prognosticate a larger and a braver life for the coming generations, a life in which will be realized the dreams of Plato and many another thinker, the promises of Jesus and all the founders of religions. That men should fight each other they have not found to be the law of life, but that men should lovingly co-operate for each other's good. These promises have realized too little so far in man's life because they have been regarded from the sentimental point of view or as indications of what is to come in the world beyond. What we need is a just life on earth, a life of genuine service and co-operative activity.

Two tendencies are to be seen to-day leading in this direction, one of them the outgrowth of the wonderful scientific development of our time, the other the product of the new ethical and religious impulse the world is every where manifesting. SENTIMENT IS NOT ENOUGH, AND SCIENCE IS NOT ENOUGH. THEY NEED TO BE WEDDED INDISSOLUBLY TO EACH OTHER, then what we are longing for will come into sight. First of all we need a more vigorous science, that will go to the roots of man's life in the past, and discover the conditions of his growth in all ages and under all conditions. All the roots of the present are in the past, and until we scientifically know the past we are not walking by knowledge. To know the laws of social development, is first of all, and more than all else, essential to reformation, advance, and the social conquest of the world.

What we also need is to so direct men's social impulses as to make them count for association, comradeship, and social democracy. Men are not so wedded to a narrow individualism that it must ever rule them; and their fear of losing the power of individual initiative, control of property, and political freedom, is one that social growth will easily conquer and direct to better motives. Human nature is not against social effort, but ready for it, and will use it wisely when its true significance is understood.

Mammon's Reign

BY GEORGE D. JONES

"The love of money is the root of evil."

That the "gold god" is master of the twentieth century is conceded by the deepest thinkers of our time, including university professors and eminent clergymen, and yet these great men present no feasible remedy.

Rev. Dr. Thompson, Rockefeller's pastor, admits that mammon rules the world, that social standards are measured by bank accounts. Most of the churches peacefully slumber on the bosom of this monster who, through greed the offspring of profit, would spur us on to inevitable doom, like the downfall of ancient Rome.

Recognizing this greed, which for the sake of profit has festered on our own political and commercial body, Rev. Dr. Rob't. Collyer the famous New York preacher and optimist, calls it "a mud bath," and after proclaiming that "it smells to heaven," childishly adds "that we shall be made pure and clean by this very filth in which we have been immersed."

"Can the fig tree bear olive berries?" Jas. III-12.

Statistics reveal that more lives are annually sacrificed on our private owned profit making railroads than in the Boer war. No more convincing evidence of mammon's greedy reign could be conceived than in the Chicago theatre fire and the Slocum Steamship disaster. Thousands of sacrificed lives cry out from the tomb against a system which prompted profit makers to trap unsuspecting victims for the sake of profit the mother of greed and servant of mammon.

"Bow, O fool as thou passeth by!
This is the God you have set on high."

Mammon,—the chief promoter of empty stomachs, children's rags, woman's shame and drunkard's graves; bribery, burglary, holdups and murder; forgery, perjury, misrepresentation; envy, malice, strife; dime novels and obscene literature; poisoned confectionery, food and liquor; trusts, with high prices and low wages; heart hardener, promotor of wars, widows, orphans and tramps; alms houses, prisons, asylums; disease, disaster, dispair and death.

"This is the god to which we pray
This is our golden calf to-day."

Dear flag, "glorious emblem, when it represents things that *are* glorious, but not while wet with the tears of widows who make up the bunting for three dollars a week in an effort to support their children," while it floats over drones who revel in luxury and over storehouses which are bursting with the products of labor and held by non-producers for speculation.

"Your gold and silver is cankered." Jas. V. 3.

No class of individuals can be held wholly responsible for this appalling condition as all are creatures of its conception, some fortunate and some unfortunate.

Yet, let it be remembered that no member of the managing class can plead not guilty before God. Their luxurious lives of extravagance and even waste are challenged by millions of producers, their wives and children who unfortunately never have enjoyed life's comforts to say nothing of its luxuries.

The producers, being much in the majority are really largely responsible since, by their co-operation at the ballot box and sustained by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, they could take over the means of production and manufacture goods for use instead of for profit and thus transform this nation into one of peace, prosperity and brotherhood.

"Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;—when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism it is their duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."—Declaration of Independence.

"LET THE THE. NATION OWN THE TRUSTS."

When production and distribution is collectively managed, giving labor an exchange of product at cost of production thus removing the possibility of exploitation and promoting equality of opportunity, the agencies of mammon will become ghosts of the past.

The Socialist Party offers labor this victory. Will labor accept? Read the answer in the remarkable growth of that party.

"Then onward and upward the race shall go,
Over this false, foul god laid low;
Onward and upward toward the goal,
Equal rights for each toiling soul.
Upward where kindness and duty call—
Each for the other and all for all."

JOY AND THE COSMOS

BY RUFUS W. WEEKS

III. JOY IN JOY

THERE IS ANOTHER EXPERIENCE incredible to the normal self-seeking man, which, however, even he has encountered a few times in his life, and which we cannot doubt a few of the race find constant for themselves: it is the miracle of feeling joy in the joy of others. Not the pale reflex of another's happiness which is called sympathetic enjoyment, but a feeling as intense as if we ourselves were tasting what that other is tasting. What a treasure this gift would be if we could only find it; we might well spend all our strength in digging for it as one would dig for hidden gold! Thus would the joy of unborn generations even, become our joy here and now; thus were Time and Death outwitted!

The toiler for human progress who can so see and feel, already sees the glorious White City descending from God out of Heaven; through the thickets where he is hewing so slow a way he sees its brightness gleam. While his unconscious feet are in the miry clay his eyes look upward and forward, and he is already living in the happy golden streets,—where the children play, *all* the children play, with hearts unclouded, where the men and women are as children, because the shadow of the terror of want is gone, to darken no more.

In this experience of joy in others' joy may be found a suggestion of a future life, finding its existence in what we see and feel here and now. There are two opposite kinds of joyous state: the active, in which he is who is doing things to make all happy; and that passive, quiet, tranquil state, in which he is who rests his soul and lies back in perfect stillness while the waves of blessedness roll over him, a blessed consciousness of that vast and ever-widening stream of happiness which is real in the animal creation and in the human race, and which is such a glorious miracle.

The first state, that of active joy, is the affair of each individual by himself; the second state, that of passive joy, does not seem to him who is bathed in it to be special to himself, it seems to have no reason in itself for its ever ending, and no reason in itself why it may not be one tide of being through him and myriad other souls. So far as consciousness tells him in that state, he may be not only enwrapped in, but a part of, an inseparable part of an ocean of passive joy.

To change the figure; the active healthy deeds of life come on upon a certain stage, and the figures engaged in them thrill with their own happiness, happiness of two kinds, that of healthy activity, and that of consciously doing something to build up the general happiness. Now, at the back of the stage their is a curtain, a sentient curtain, which thrills with incessant beatific waves, responding to all the happy acts and feelings of the living actors. This curtain consists of the one, undivided, vast, soul of love which existed before the play of love and happiness began, and which was always full of joy in the contemplation of that play to come; it consists also of all those souls which have done their day's play of true life; it holds also a certain background of some souls which are still playing their parts on some days, but on other days are foretasting their tranquil home in the state of contemplative bliss.

All the accidents of Being drop away from the watcher's thought, while he sees with infinite clearness and delight only the intrinsic quality of Being, real, glorious and eternal. To the watcher then, the doer and deed, and the primal source of the doer and deed, all blend in one, and he is also in that one.

IV. THEORY

This side of the subject does not admit of the certitude with which sensation and experience may be spoken of; in other words, faith is far stronger than theology. The word "theology" is indeed a presumptuous word, a premature word, to say the least. Theologies are attempts to reconcile the facts of faith with other facts, hard facts, which also exist. The various theologies are various hypotheses, and no one of them has been demonstrated; their use is not as schemes of knowledge, but as tenable explanations of a contradiction which presses for solution.

The kind of world which our understanding reports to us is of a very mixed sort, morally speaking; it is fairly summed up in Omar Khayyam's sad and kindly musings,—a world of opportunities, no doubt, but abounding in cruelties and in broken promises. But the kind of world of which the unspoiled heart whispers to us is one of intention good and only good. Some sort of synthesis of the two we must have ,or guess at, or else go maimed all our lives. One explanation will do as well as another, provided it be not too improbable; and there is no harm in having two or three theodicies to fall back upon according to the state of mind of the moment.

It is evident therefore that the list of theologies is never closed, and that it is no impertinent venture to suggest a new one or a rearrangement of elements of the old,—provided what is put forth is offered only as food for thought. It is in this modest sense that I offer the speculations following.

V. A DIGRESSION

Before going on with my surmises, let me be allowed a preliminary statement dealing with rudiments, setting forth something which is certainly true, and which is necessary to be accepted or else all that follows goes for nothing. This preliminary fact is that the universe has two faces, one face which it turns toward us —us, human beings, and other animals—and the other, a face which it does not turn towards us. This can best be made clear by an illustration: Imagine yourself standing on the eastern margin of a little pond at night, with a full moon nearly overhead. The pond appears to you a dark expanse with a single band of light pointing from your feet westerly toward the direction of the moon. You would say, that is what the pond is; but if you will walk along the edge of the pond and see it from the north you will now see that it is a dark expanse with a single band of light leading from the north side of the pond toward its center. In fact, at every step of your walk around the pond it becomes a different object. But now the fact is, as will be seen upon a little thought, that the pond is not a dark expanse with a single band of light leading from a point of its margin toward the center; this appearance is simply a picture, a picture which your eye sees and which is conditioned on the fact that your vision is located in one spot. It is perfectly conceivable that you might have a power of vision which could see from all points of the margin of the pond; what you would see then would be a broad expanse of light covering the whole pond except a dark center.

Take another illustration: I was once watching a woman making a roll of butter; she had finished the roll and it was lying on a plate, and she held it out to me to feel how heavy it was. Then she submerged it in a tub of water, and let me do the same, and I was really astonished at the instantaneous change in the feeling of the weight,—in fact the butter seemed to weigh nothing. It was a kind of revelation to me. I saw that the quality of heaviness which we universally and instinctively ascribe to matter is not an intrinsic quality of matter, but is a sensation in ourselves produced by something outside of ourselves. The quality outside of ourselves which produces the sensation, whatever it may be in itself, is not the same as the sensation.

Or, again, take the quality called color. We all say, for instance, that the grass is green, but the same piece of grass on the same day is of a very different color according to whether the sun is shining or whether it is obscured by clouds. It is still a very different color at sunset, and strangely altered again when seen by moonlight; its color even becomes black on a moonless night. Even at the same moment during the day its color is altogether different when looked at toward the sun from what it is when looked at with the sun. Again,—as to those persons who are called color blind,—whatever they mean by the word "green", it cannot be what the rest of us mean, for to them what we see as green, and red, for instance, may appear the same. It is therefore plain that the green is not an intrinsic quality in the grass, but that it is our sensation caused by something outside of us.

Illustrations like these can be multiplied to any extent, and it will be found that everything which we call quality of matter is a sensation in ourselves, caused by something unknown outside of ourselves. In other words, we are living in a sort of illusion, which is, however, no delusion because it does not mislead us in our affairs.

The events which make up the apparent universe, such as are recognized by our senses, are called phenomena, that is, appearances. The universe in its apparent phase is a vast complex of phenomena of two kinds,—first, our own sensations, and, second, those things which we think we perceive. The real universe, which is the counterpart of the phenomenal universe, is also a vast complex made up of two sets of occurrences, our own sensations, and the unknown things outside of ourselves which produce those sensations.

Now there is one class of occurrences which are the same in both the phases of the universe: which are both apparent and real; and these are our own sensations; they are what they purport to be,—for example, if we feel hungry we are hungry. There is no question that all sensations are mental, and the most simple supposition in regard to the other kind of things, those outside of ourselves which produce our sensations and which are unknown to us, is that they also are mental, and this is the supposition held at present by the greater number of philosophers.

So, then, it is a certainty that there is a non-apparent real universe which is not the same as the phenomenal universe,—the universe we see; and it is probable that the non-apparent real universe is mental in its nature throughout, that it is a vast complex of thoughts, so to speak, of intellections, of mental states, a part of which are our own sensations and the rest of which are something akin to our sensations.

VI. THE REAL "PRIMUM MOVENS"

The great students of physics are now concentrating their attention upon the infinitesimal,—even upon the inner constitution of the atom itself. That little, round, hard pellet, as it was thought of, indivisible, and interesting only for its external movements and relations, suddenly becomes an object of the most intense intrinsic interest, in itself a world of complexity and interior movement. The present notion seems to be that the atom is a system composed of a myriad bits of force, so to speak—particles of electricity, it may be. This points to the resolution of the atom, and so of the whole universe of matter, into some one force. The idea is not new; the single force of which the whole universe is the manifestation is spoken of in the Bhagavad Gita as "akasa"; what is new is the approach toward it by Occidental science through materialist reasoning.

It is no extreme step to suppose the goal reached,—the single universal force named and defined in terms of material science, that is to say, in terms of the phenomenal. The philosopher who holds that the real universe is mental must at once see in this single physical force the phenomenal side of a single mental force, and must find in this last the cause and source of the entire cosmic process.

What meaning can the term "mental force" have? I can see

(*Continued on Page 7*)

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Conscience is the voice of God.—Rousseau.

"Though Christ a thousand times in Bethlehem be born,
If he's not born in thee, thy soul is all forlorn."

No man has ever come to true greatness who has not felt in some degree that his life belongs to his race, and that what God gives him He gives him for mankind.—Phillips Brooks.

The first principle of morality requires that you abandon the point of view of the individual and look at all questions from the viewpoint of the universal welfare.—Washington Gladden.

Mr. Santa Claus, while making up your list of friends, please do not forget the Christian Socialist.

The startling article of W. D. P. Bliss, "Where Socialism Was Tried", on page five of this issue, reprinted in part from the November Outlook, will do much to remove from the minds of such men as Rev. Dr. Frank Dixon the much exploited fear that socialism would prevent the free and full development of the individual. Mr. Bliss and the Outlook are to be greatly praised for this signal service to the truth. The "Outlook" is wearing its name with a good grace these thrilling days.

The Springfield (Mass.) Republican says: "There is no doubt that Jesus, when he dealt with social matters, dealt with their essentials and not their incidentals. Were he living in the flesh today what would be thought of him? He would be no more welcome in the churches which are called after his name than he was in the synagogues of his Father's faith; he would be no more welcome to the men who are seeking their profit out of their fellows' necessities than he was to the rich men of Jerusalem. For now as then, the instrumentalities of the world are against the thing he lived to proclaim—the freedom and faith of mankind found in love alone."

Extra copies of this issue can be had at one cent per copy in bundles of ten or more.

Through the kindness of a friend we are still offering the Appeal to Reason and the Christian Socialist to new subscribers of this paper at 50 cents a year for the two!. This offer is limited.

Editorial Itinerary

"ON TO RICHMOND!" wrote Walter Marion Raymond when he found I might spare the time to Sunday there. I found it easier to enter that beautiful, historic city than did my uncles in the terrible war-time. And it seems a special providence that the extra day was afforded me at the Southern Capital. The Comrades there, at first confused by my telegram to arrange an extra meeting the day before the regular date, succeeded in obtaining the pulpit of Rev. J. W. Daugherty of the Apostolic Church for my Sunday night lecture on "Christian Socialism". His conduct was so brotherly, saintly and trustful to entertain the stranger that it was beautiful to see and touched me deeply. My lecture, unknown to me in advance, fitted right into the faith and experience of that earnest, consecrated people, who believe in the kingdom of heaven ON EARTH and the daily practice of the Golden Rule in all things, and we all had "a blessed time". Many of the members of this Church, who had for years refused to vote because American politics afforded no chance to express the Christian faith of "the kingdom on earth", found in the socialist message the expression of their hope and will hereafter vote with us.

Faith and Works

BY CHARLES KEELER

WE prate of love and work in hate;
We talk of faith and trust to fate.
O might we do the things we preach!
O might we live the life we teach!

The Christ is born. Rejoice! Rejoice!
Across the ages rings His voice,
But sounds in vain for him who reads
If faith leads not to loving deeds.

When Plato lit the torch of yore
The beacon blazed from shore to shore,
And we upon Time's farthest height
Still see it flash across the night.

Uplift the brand, nor fear the burn;
Dare, in a world of doubt, to learn
That God attains himself through you;
CHRIST LIVES TO-DAY IN THEM THAT DO.

—Cosmopolitan Magazine.

It was an enthusiastic meeting, full of sweeping song, hearty amens and the sense of brotherly love. Any one with a soul could lecture to an audience like that, and I enjoyed the evening largely. The people must have appreciated it also, for two-thirds of my second-night audience were from this church; and, but for this "chance" meeting, would not have cared to come.

The second meeting was in the Swedenborg Mission church, whose minister, Rev. J. B. Spiers, is general missionary superintendent over several states. His courtesy and generosity were unbounded. He is with us with all his heart. And this meeting was also a joy to me. The theme was economic, but the religious spirit pervaded the meeting and many were greatly helped.

The Richmond comrades were much encouraged by these two meetings and said all sorts of kind things to me—even going so far as to invite me to come again! These "Rebels of the New South" are a soulful, enthusiastic people. They will either take you to their hearts with warm and glowing affection or *"burn you up"* with fiery disapproval.

At the commodious, park-fronted home of comrade John Chappell I found a haven of congeniality and perfect rest. He is an impulsive, fiery spirit, with a heart as pure and gentle as a mother's, and, though he was once a fierce war-wolf of the grey-clad clan, would not willingly give pain to any creature. With a big house and bigger hearts, he and his good wife have gathered around them a varied flock;—their son and his charming wife, two beautiful, idolized grandsons, and two bright, motherless young men who find here inspiring ideals and freedom from temptation. When Walter Marion Raymond, the author, is in his beloved Richmond, this is also his home. Here I spent two happy, never-to-be-forgotten days.

It is the opinion of many comrades that our Christian Socialist message is especially suited to the South. And if the perfect courtesy, unfailing kindness and generous enthusiasm of the Richmond comrades are typical of that section, I would like to spend my life lecturing there.

At Washington city there was only time to be disappointed with the capitol building, ravished by the fairy-like, exquisite, yet magnificent interior of the congressional library, and to deliver my speech. The socialist branch there impresses me as one with an unusually large number of men of intelligence and force. Most of them are government employes, but are not much intimidated on that account. Among them I was pleased to meet Prof. T. E. Will, late editor of Social Ethics, who is resting from the storms of impossibilism in the safe shelter of a (civil service) government job.

At Urichsville, Ohio, and Union City, Ind., I found loyal comrades and had pleasant meetings, and hurried on to fill dates previously made at Racine, Wis., which will be spoken of more fully in my next letter.

During this trip of 18 days I travelled 2,400 miles and lectured 17 times, having to ride all night on six different occasions, with two changes per night, to reach the places in time; besides doing editorial work and much correspondence. "Tired?" Rather. Nevertheless, I like the field work. And if one could only have his private car and a private secretary or two, especially the latter! Alas for the writing on a trip like this. Please kindly remember the circumstances, ye whose letters and submitted articles seem neglected—E. E. C.

Where Socialism Was Tried

By W. D. P. Bliss, in The Outlook, Nov., 1905

THE TRAVELER who climbs the Acropolis at Athens will find that there is only one way of approach to the Parthenon. Seen, near at hand, from any other standpoint, the great temple appears out of drawing. There is, as is well known, in the whole edifice not a single straight line. Everywhere in the structure, from base to pediment, on column and on cella there are only curves—ektasis and entasis—the carvings out and the curvings in of matchless lines. Viewed from all points save one, these curves are apparent and seem out of place, even as, from that one point of view, each marvelous line falls into place, seemingly straighter than straight, and giving to the great building that unequaled life, that sense of lightness and of grace, wedded to sublimity, which modern architecture does not know enough even to copy. Cunningly did the artful Greek compel the visitor to take that point of view by creating but one public access to the temple—that just at the right point—and erecting here the Propylæa.

It is the endeavor of this article to approach the social structure of ancient Athens, not from the ordinary, indivualistic, nineteenth-century point of view but from the ancient Greek point of view from that conception of society where as Professor Ingram tells us, "the individual is conceived as subordinated to the State, through which alone his nature can be developed and completed, and to the maintenance and service of which all his efforts must be directed." So viewed—if one can look at bare facts, rather than at accepted explanations of those facts—he will be almost startled at what he will find. Did they try socialism in ancient Athens?

They did, in one way or another, produce marvelous individualities in Athens. Says Dr. Francis Galton, of the highest authority in anthropological science, "A population of ninety thousand produced two men, Socrates and Phidias, whom the whole population of Europe has never equaled, and fourteen men of an ability of which the Anglo-Saxon race has only produced, in two thousand years, five equals." He asserts that *the average ability of the Athenian race was about as much above that of the English race as that race is above the African negro.* This is a strong statement, and yet J. A. Symonds, one of the foremost literary and artistic critics of our own or of any day, favorably quotes it, and says that *the population of classic Athens,* taken as a whole, *was perhaps as superior to ours as our race is to that of the Australian savage.*

What a record it is! Socrates (469-399 B. C.), Plato (428-347 B. C.), Aristotle (384-322 B. C.); surely in the history of thought there are no greater names than these. In the drama, Æschylus (525-456 B. C.), Sophocles (495-406 B. C.), Euripides (480-406 B. C.)—here are the masters of the classic tragedy; while Aristophanes (444-380 B. C.) is the unique founder of the world's comedy. In history, Thucydides (470-404 B. C.) has perhaps no rival, while Xenophon (430-355 B. C.) has but few. In sculpture, Phidias 490-432 B. C.) and Praxiteles (390 B. C.) stand supreme, while Myron (480 B. C.) and Scopas (370 B. C.) occupy high place. In architecture, Ictinus and Callicrates, the architects of the Parthenon (438 B. C.), and Mnesicles, the builder of the Propylæa (437 B. C.), produced works, of their period certainly the most beautiful, and of all periods the most perfect buildings in the world. In painting, Polygnotus (460 B. C.) did work which cultured Athens placed on a par with her sculpture. In oratory, every school boy knows of Demosthenes (385-322 B. C.); every college boy of Æschines (389-314 B. C.); while their contemporaries compared Lysias (445-378 B. C) and Isocrates (436-338 B. C.) with these. In statesmanship, Pericles (495-429 B. C), Cimon (504-449 B. C.), and Themistocles (514-449 B. C.) are names that would stand out in any history; while in generalship, Miltiades (490 B. C.), the hero of Marathon, and Nicias, the leader in the Spartan wars, can never be forgotten. Other names, among them Alcibiades (450- 404 B. C.), Cleon (422 B. C.), Thrasybulus (390 B. C.), Lycurgus, the orator (395-323 B. C.), and Myronides (457 B. C.), belong to this period. Thirty-one names! Where in history is there another city that can produce even an approximation to such a record?

But notice the dates. *Every one of these great names appeared in the one hundred and fifty-two years* between the Battle of Marathon (490 B. C.) and the Battle of Chæronea (338 B. C.). Was this an accident?

It has been said that this marvelous outflowering of genius was due to Athen's political and military supremacy during that period. But all through these years Athen's was fighting often for her very life—with Persia, with Sparta, with the other Greek States; and, in spite of some most brilliant victories, was again and again defeated, the city itself being twice captured during this very time, once burned by the enemy, and once having her walls razed to the ground. Let the advocates of the war basis compare the intellectual development of the repeatedly captured Athens with Constantinople, which during twenty-five hundred years has been besieged thirty-one times and captured only twice.

It is contended that the Athenian greatness was due to race. But the Ionic race was not limited to Athens. It largely peopled the islands and shores of the Ægean. Its colonies extended from Trapezus (Trebizond) on the Black Sea to Massilia (Marseilles) and Sagumtum in the western Mediterranean. Nor did it exist only during those one hundred and fifty-two years. Classic Athens may be said to have endured at least fifteen hundred years, from the eleventh century B. C. to the closing of her schools of philosophy by the Christian Emperor Justinian in 529 A. D. If race was the cause why did it only so operate in one city and during one comparatively short period?

Was the cause in the climate and physical environment? These remain in Athens yet, comparatively unchanged, but except during this period what have they produced? Still

> "The mountains look on Marathon,
> And Marathon looks on the sea,"

but Marathon today has no Miltiades, and his modern successors defend no academies of Plato or of Aristotle, and only the ruins of the Parthenon of Phidias and of Pericles. Byron is right:

> "The Isles of Greece! The Isles of Greece!
> Where burning Sapho loved and sung,—
> Where grew the arts of war and peace,—
> Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung!
> Eternal summer gilds them yet!
> But all except their sun is set."

The glory of Athens during these one hundred and fifty years is scarcely more marked than the absence of great names in the remaining two thousand eight hundred and fifty years of Athenian history. What cause, then, was there operating during that unique period, but not operating before or since? We know of only one—*an essentially and radically socialistic organization of the city.* This did prevail, as we shall see, during that exact period, and that only.

What is a socialistic organization of a city? *The ownership and operation of land and capital collectively by the city, for the good of its citizens.* Did Athens under Pericles have this? No student of Boeckh's "Public Economy of Athens," nor one who can put together the statements of hundreds or thousands of passages in the classic Greek authors, can well deny this. Athens owned lands, mines, forests, farms, houses, markets, which it worked, under one form or another, for the profit of the citizens. *Its citizens did not support the city; the city supported the citizens*—at least all such as needed support. Out of the revenues derived from its possessions, Athens practically guaranteed a livelihood to every citizen.

There was in Athens no attempt at any community or even equality of goods. Athens was not socialistic in any modern ethical sense of the word, as based on ideals of human brotherhood or theories of universal equal rights. The individual, *per se,* they did not recognize. He was *ιdios*, a no-man, an idiot. Athens's socialism was distinctly selfish. Her citizens instituted it simply because they believed it to be for their own interests. It was of the city, for the citizens, and for no one else. Aliens, even residents in Athens, had no share in it. Slaves were not citizens, and scarcely considered human. Economically they were not men and women, but marvelous tools worked to produce for the citizens. They were a part of the capital of the day—as Aristotle distinctly asserts—and therefore, like other capital, often owned by the city and made use of for the citizens. Here is no modern ethical socialism. Nor any more was it "scientific" according to "Das Kapital."

Yet it practically asked from each citizen according to his ability, and gave to each according to his need. This was accomplished in the main by two institutions; the so-called "liturgics," securing from the rich gratification for the less fortunate, and above all by the "dicasticon," or daily money payment for public service, given to any citizen who wished it, and in quantity sufficient to enable him to live upon it in respectability and ordinary comfort. It was the latter institution which above all made Athens socialistic, and was introduced by Pericles, as we may clearly learn, among other sources, from Aristotle (Politics II., 12) and Plato (Gorgias, 575). We will consider the latter first.

The dicasticon was the daily money payment, first of one obol and later of three, to any Athenian citizen who did duty as a *dicast* or juror in the multitudinous courts of Athens. One obol is three cents—seemingly a small affair, and yet, as we shall see measured by Athenian prices, sufficient to maintain life in respectability and comfort, and paid sufficiently frequently to form, Mahaffy tells us ("Old Greek life," p. 68), "an income on which most of the poorer citizens lived." It was paid for this purpose. Athenian courts were held not only for her citizens, but for all the allied cities subject to her leadership. They were therefore numerous and practically continuous. It has been calculated that six thousand persons received the dicasticon each day, supporting perhaps thirty thousand persons (including wives and children), or some third of the free population.

And this payment was only the principal one of several similar payments. It was for service in the courts; but for attendance at the *ecclesia,* or popular assembly, to which also any Athenian citizen could go, there was another payment, an *ecclesiasticon,* varying at different times from one to nine obols (twenty-seven cents). Moreover, the city saw to it that her poorest citizen could enjoy the drama and the religious festivities, both of which were considered municipal functions which it was important that every citizen should attend. Therefore the poorest citizens were paid a *theoricon* of two obols for the drama and various payments for the different religious festivities which in Athens were more numerous than in any other city. Xenophon, indeed, tells that festivals like the Panathenia and the Dionysia were more for the benefit of the poor than for worship of the gods. At some of these festivities three hundred oxen were slain at city expense and given to the poor. Distribution of corn was of frequent occurrence.

These payments were for any citizens; but to especial classes were given especial and larger sums. Those elected to the *Boule,* or council, were, of course, paid, as were all attorneys,

(*Continued on Page 8*)

ITEMS FROM EVERYWHERE

EDITED BY GEO. H. STROBELL

The Christian Socialist ought to have many times its present number of subscribers. Nearly all of the Socialists papers have their bands of devoted workers, and it seems to the editor of this page that the work of Comrade Carr in publishing this paper is not appreciated as it ought to be. We all need it and we would want to start a paper just like it if it were not in existence. It is no trouble to get subscribers for the Christian Socialist. Try it. you will see that it is easy work. Can't we all just send in 10 new subscriptions for a Christmas offering. Is there not to be found among our friends 100 who will pledge themselves to send us 10 new subscribers per month for this coming year? Let us hear from you.

Every socialist knows that there are laws which govern and determine the processes of materialistic change and evolution. As human beings we recognize our kinship with the material structure and know that mankinds growth and development goes on in conformity with laws. But Christian Socialism believes besides in a Divine Personality—the Creator of the Universe and of the laws that govern it. A Conscious, Governing, Loving Being. And the Socialist movement needs the assertion of this belief by us, for the statement is often made that scientific socialism and religious belief cannot exist in a human mind together. The great majority of the people of this country have fixed religious opinions, and if we are ever going to win the majority to socialism we must disabuse their minds of this error. The capitalist opponents of Socialism are sedulously circulating the sayings and publications of comrades that reflect on religion. I don't mean those that attack the church for its guilty complicity in the evils of the day. But I mean those statements where the scientific truths of Socialism are twisted into proof that there can be no God, or no eternity. Therefore we need the Christian Socialist to offset this influence and show the true relation between religion and socialism.

William E. Johnson, managing editor of "The New Voice," the National Prohibition Party organ, is down and out. Mr. Johnson had ideas tending toward socialism and friendly to organized labor. and had courage and convictions and was expressing himself to good purpose in the paper. C. W. Post, president of the Citizens Industrial Association of America bought at regular advertising rates nearly a page of the paper and put in a rabid and ferocious attack on the labor union movement which was printed as pure reading matter without advertising marks of any sort.

Having sold their columns to Mr. Post for the purpose of fighting union labor, A. A. Stevens and Edwin Burritt Smith, president and managing director of the New Voice company, ordered an editorial suppressed and also ordered Mr Johnson to quit writing editorials friendly to organized labor. Mr. Johnson promptly resigned his position under this pressure. The printers of the New Voice are now out on a strike on account of the refusal of the New Voice to allow the eight-hour day. Most of the employes of the paper have also resigned out of sympathy with the printers.

John G. Woolley, editor in chief and owner of the New Voice, is now in New Zealand on a lecturing tour, and knows nothing of the conditions in that office. Mr. Woolley, it is well known, is a liberal minded man and in sympathy with the labor union movement.—Bulletin of the Clothing Trades.

A prominent South St. Louis physician tells the following short story of his conversion to Socialism: One day I found a copy of Labor on a Grand avenue car. Judging from the finger marks and the soiled condition of the paper, it must have been left on the seat by a workingman coming from the shop. I glanced over the paper, and one article on Wendell Phillips attracted my attention. Wendell Phillips! Why, I had never heard of that name before! I read the article, and got interested in the study of the social problem.

While the socialist vote this year has shown a slight decrease in number over the presidential vote of last year in some of the larger cities, it has maintained itself much better than might have been expected, and presents a much better showing than any other political party. It was generally expected by Socialists that thousands who voted for Debs last year and did not understand the basic principles of the socialist party, would be swept from their feet by the great reform wave which is sweeping this country from coast to coast, offering palliative measures, and clothed in the hypocritical guise of being Socialistic. As shown by the incomplete returns, however, the Debs voters of 1904 were somewhat better grounded than was supposed. According to the percentage of total vote cast in 1905 as compared with 1904, the socialist is the only party showing any material increase over last year, which manifests itself in almost every locality by from 2 to 12 per cent. with exceptions, like New York city, where Hearst posed as a semi-socialist, and with his millions for campaign purposes secured thousands of "immediate result" socialist votes. In Toledo, Springfield and other cities of Ohio, the "down with 'bossism,' 'graft," etc., etc., was the principle issue which got other "immediate result" socialist votes. The results are anything but discouraging, and the thousands of voters who have thrown away their votes in the attempt to get "reform" have manifested a discontent that will eventually put them right.

St. Louis "Labor" thinks that the Capitalists will take up and support Governor Folk as Presidential Candidate in 1908, with the purpose of making ing a hurrah campaign on "Political Honesty and squelching the socialist party. But it won't work." Experience proves that Socialism has been gaining a strong foothold in St. Louis since the first boodle trials under Mr. Folk's direction took place. Last fall when every political goose was cackling the praise of the fearless circuit attorney, the socialist party vote in St. Louis, increased to over 5,000, while five months later, in April, 1905, the average socialist party vote was about 5,500. As circuit attorney Joseph Folk did some good work by showing up the corruption of capitalist party politics. He deserves credit for that work. As reform governor Joseph Folk is a failure; can be nothing but a failure, because he is sailing on the troubled waters of the democratic party, surrounded by all the elements of political corruption that make the democratic party machine possible. As a presidential candidate Joseph Folk will accelerate the downfall of the democratic party. "Political Honesty" campaigns are getting stale. He will have to declare for a program. This program may be radical—then he will drive the conservative elements into the republican ranks; or it may be conservative—then he will drive the radical wing of the democratic party toward socialism.

The socialist party has little to fear in either case."

Recently two prominent socialists from one of the eastern states visited Milwaukee and made a study of the methods used in the organization. Afterwards one of the comrades wrote to the state organizer: "It is perhaps needless for me to say that nowhere else among the cities which we visited did we find the organization reduced to such a business-like basis as in Wisconsin."

Massachusetts Socialists regain their legal standing as a political party, having increased their vote 12 per cent, Carey, for governor of Massachusetts, receives almost 2,000 more votes than Debs did for president last year. Franklin H. Wentworth lacks only 54 votes of being elected to the state legislature.

Socialism is gaining a foothold in Arkansas. For the first time in the history of Little Rock, the socialists held a city convention, and nominated a city ticket.

The so-called Poe Amendment which aimed at disfranchising the negroes and poorer wage workers of the Maryland has been defeated by a large majority. Much credit must be given to the Socialists who fought it everywhere. The campaign against it ended in Baltimore in a great meeting of protest at the Bijou theater under the auspices of eight local Hebrew trades unions, and the auditorium was crowded to the doors.

In an address delivered at the dinner given to Senator Warner of Missouri, Governor Hoch, of Kansas said: I want to say to you, not as an alarmist, but as a slight contributor to the American awakening, that unless we find some effectual remedy for the control of the great trusts and corporations in the interests of all the people, a tidal wave of socialism will sweep over the country one of these days.

Above the cracking of the Cossack whips, the frenzied shouts of the strikers, the maddening yells of the revolutionary radicals and the intermittent discharge of firearms, there rises in plaza and prospect in St. Petersburg, in London and elsewhere the sound of the Marseillaise. Crowds of excited workingmen are parading the streets singing the inspiring hymn that has been the anthem of freedom in all European movement of liberation since the French revolution.

Some day the historian will write of the part the Marseillaise has played in the progress of civilization. It will be an interesting chapter of the world's history. For more than a century now the famous hymn has inspired men to throw off the yoke of the oppressor, to stand forth upright and free. Not a revolutionary movement in Europe since the streets of Paris ran blood that the Marseillaise has not rallied the people to the standard of freedom and sent them battling either to liberty or death. —Des Moines Register-Leader.

Deep apprehension is now said to be felt by all members of the court and of the aristocratic classes of England in regard to the dimensions and the acuteness of the "unemployed problem." Its serious nature was manifested dramatically again today when 8,000 workless men paraded through the heart of fashionable London and then cheered incendiary speeches at a tremendous mass meeting in Hyde Park. One of the most disquieting features of the situation is the common knowledge that the labor crisis is breeding socialism throughout Great Britain on a scale hitherto unknown. Because there is little question that the Russian masses will successfully achieve their purpose against hopeless odds, the proletariat of Great Britain, as well as of Austria and Germany, have been encouraged to resort to heroic measures to get what they consider their rights. Thus, because of the force of the Russian example, they expect the cheers that were given in Hyde Park to rattle the windows of Buckingham palace and the mansions of Park Lane and of Balfour's residence in Downing street, as a stern, if not a final, warning that the government must accede to their demands that great public works be instituted as a means of saving the nation's workless million from the terrors of the impending winter.

The significant features of the recent municipal elections in England, it is admitted on all sides, is the increase in the socialist and labor vote and the success of the socialist and labor candidates. So far as the S. D. F. candidates alone are concerned we have done exceedingly well, and have sustained the advance made last year. It is true that we have lost two seats, one at Burnley and one at Northampton, but in each case our men were beaten by very narrow majorities; Scott, in Northampton, by but 19, and Irving, with the combined Liberals and Tories against him, by only 43. On the other hand, we have gained two seats at Acerington, a seat at Blackburn, one at Plymouth, and one at Rawtenstall; a net gain of three seats against the combined forces of Liberal and Tory reaction.

While private ownership of the means of life is perpetuated and the production of goods is carried on for profit, the announcement of a new invention must fill the hearts of tens of thousands of human beings with consternation and fear of want for the future. A new bread making machinery has been invented and is being put to actual use in London by which the price of a 10 cent loaf is cut to 6 cents and much of the labor eliminated. It is said that the grain is converted into bread without human aid. The new machine not only saves the cost of the milling, but all the expense of handling the wheat and the profits of the miller and the middlemen—three or four of whom stand between the farmer and the baker. This alone will reduce the cost of material 30 per cent at the least, and 50 per cent in favorable circumstances.

The revolution in Russia is moving swiftly. The news of one day is dwarfed by that of the day succeeding and the daily papers are telling you the story. And yet a few points are worth noting. A remarkable development has been the expressions of sympathy with the Poles. Never before in the history of the empire have citizens of Russia proper taken sides with oppressed Poland. The populace hitherto has been a unit with the Czar in bearing down Poland with the yoke of bondage, but to-day the revolutionists proclaim that Poland must have freedom with the rest of the empire. Even the old kingdom of Georgia, encouraged by the success of Finland, has demanded autonomy, and from the Caucasus comes news that a provisional government there has the support of the citizens. Count Witte is a Prime Minister without a Cabinet, and works night and day without success to check the drift of Russia to a democratic destiny.

Our party is an efficient propaganda machine but not truly a political party as yet. A very small organization usually makes the nominations for a larger body of voters who are not represented at all. In Brockton, Mass., Ex-Mayor Coulter, twice elected Mayor by the socialists of that city, was a candidate for renomination. The socialist party organization numbering 62 persons in a voting strength of 1,200 nominated Comrade Wm. H. Clifford. Ex-Mayor Coulter thereupon got out nomination papers, appealing to the larger body of socialist voters for support, and claims the bulk of the vote. Charges were brought against him for antagonizing the regular party nominee and he was expelled by a vote of 32, just half of the voting strength of the organization. If it were not too late the socialists of Brockton should have regular primary elections called to determine who should be the party nominee. The action taken saves too much of star chamber proceedings and yet it is the usual way in which we act politically. If we are ever to have a successful political party that is democratic in its methods a change is in order.

East London

BY MATTHEW ARNOLD

'T was August, and the fierce sun overhead
Smote on the squalid streets of Bethnal Green,
And the pale weaver through his window seen
In Spitalfields looked thrice dispirited.

I met a preacher there I knew, and said:
"Ill and o'erworked, how fare you in this scene?"
"Bravely," said he; "for I of late have been
Much cheered with thoughts of Christ, the living bread."

O human soul! as long as thou canst so
Set up a mark of everlasting light,
Above the howling senses' ebb and flow,

To cheer thee and to right thee if thou roam,—
Not with lost toil thou laborest through the night!
Thou mak'st the heaven thou hop'st indeed thy home.

West London

Crouched on the pavement, close by Belgrave Square,
A tramp I saw, ill, moody and tongue-tied.
A babe was in her arms, and at her side
A girl; their clothes were rags, their feet were bare.

Some laboring men, whose work lay somewhere there,
Pass'd opposite; she touched her girl, who hied
Across, and begged, and came back satisfied.
The rich she had let pass with frozen stare.

Thought I; "Above her state this spirit towers;
She will not ask of aliens but of friends,
Of sharers in a common human fate.

She turns from that cold succor, which attends
The unknown little from the unknowing great,—
She points us to a better time than ours.

JOY AND THE COSMOS

(*Continued from Page 3*)

but one possible meaning for this term; it is that which is expressed in various phases by the words "craving", "desire", "purpose", "will".

I take it, then, that the single homogeneous reality which existed from all eternity, before process began, was, to use the lowest term, "craving". The immediate question is, craving for what?

The three great terms of the cosmic series are, first, mineral; second, vegetable; third, animal; and it is reasonable to suppose that the mental movement, the craving which is the cause of this series, is in the line of the series itself; that it is a craving towards that which characterizes the latest term of the series.

What, then, does characterize the latest term of the series, which is animal sentient life? We can picture the universe of sentient life as a continuous stream made up of an immense number of separate threads of sensation; each little thread has its beginning, winds in among the others and ends, but the current is continuous; in the same way that a rope, while continuous itself, is composed of short individual threads. Now let us imagine that we could take a cross section of this entire current. As we looked at the cross section we should see an immense number of little disks, each of these representing the thread of sensation of an individual life. Let us suppose that red is the color which represents joy, and black the color which represents extreme pain; then we should find an immense number of red and rosy disks, with comparatively speaking, a very few of black or grey disks scattered among them. I take it, therefore, that the net result of the cosmic process to the present moment is an immense volume of agreeable sensations, mixed, however, with threads of pain.

I conclude,. therefore, that the primal, pre-cosmic craving is the craving to *produce* agreeable sensation, to create joy; a craving immensely successful, though not as yet wholly successful.

(*To be continued*)

Mr. Santa Claus, while making up your list of friends, please do not forget the Christian Socialist.

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The "Principles of Scientific Socialism" by Rev. Chas. H. Vail because of its clearness, comprehensiveness and attention to detail, is one of the very best socialist books published. The language is simplicity itself in plain English, free from scholastic display and technical verbosity. It is a straight-forward, common-sense, American exposition of the great subject,—an excellent book for a Christmas present or to loan. Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 56, Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill. Paper cover, 35cts.

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The Russian Revolution

Kautsky uses the following words in the columns of that staid and scientific publication, *Die Neue Zeit*.

"Never since the birth of our party, has one of its conventions met during such violently revolutionary times as exists today. Even the events of 1870-1871 pale compared with those of the Russian revolution. At that time the empire fell at the first blow, but only to give way to a republic that was little more than empire without the emperor. The governmental institutions, bureaucracy, and army, nothing was touched. Even the rising of the Paris commune, glorious as it was, was but the revolt of a single city for a few weeks.

"In Russia, on the contrary, we have a revolution that is shattering the foundation of an entire nation, and that even now has completely disorganized the governmental institutions, bureaucracy and army. A revolution in which the proletariat, not of one single city, but of every great city of the nation have fought, not for weeks, but for months, and sometimes almost for an entire year. A revolution that from the beginning has found the strongest motive force in the industrial proletariat.

"But it is not alone in its extent and significance, but still more in the consequences that it draws after it that the present Russian revolution is distinguished from that of France in 1870-1871. The Russian revolt, in spite of its occasionally strong proletarian character, constitutes the *conclusion of the era of bourgeois revolutions in Europe*. It also, in spite of the bourgeois character, which it still bears, constitutes the *beginning of the era of proletarian revolutions* upon which we are just entering. The events of 1870-1871 broke the lethargy of all Europe, and destroyed the equilibrium of its relations. It opened for Europe, with the single temporary exception of Russia and Turkey, a period of peace and free economic development.

"The events of 1905, on the contrary, throw all relations however fixed they may have been in the past, into a state of instability; they conceal within themselves war, famine, violent overthrow of the present legal order of landlords and usurers, violent resistance of the proletariat, revolutionary conditions of all kinds.

"How suddenly such situations can arise in a country where but yesterday all the world considered them impossible is shown by Hungary.

"It is impossible for us to tell at the present moment what form this struggle will take or what tasks for us will come out of this witches' kettle. But one thing is certain, and that is that we can depend upon almost anything sooner than the permanence of the present situation. No politician is so sure of early shipwreck as the one who depends upon the permanence of existing institutions.

"Every moment of today is pregnant with surprises; it is a time to watch with open eyes, to examine every change on the political horizon, to keep in readiness for the most strenuous exertions, for the political barometer indicates storms ahead."

Troops Held the Peasants

The New York Sun thinks that Count Witte is building on a hopeless foundation. Its special correspondent from London says:

We seem for the moment to be between the acts in the Russian drama. A great decisive element has, however, been introduced into the struggle, and the end can no longer be in doubt.

The Sun's St. Petersburg correspondent, telegraphing to-night says the peasants' movement is rapidly transcending all other anxieties of the Government. News comes from every province that the peasants themselves have begun the distribution of landlords' estates. The writer has seen letters from the typical, orthodox, loyal agricultural province of Yaroslav, describing the attempt of the Governor to prevent invasions of private property, but wherever troops were sent the soldiers left their rifles and cartridge belts in the peasants' houses and joined them in marking out lots into which estates were being divided.

This seems to settle the critical question of the attitude of the troops. There has been very little burning or violence, but the owners are helpless, and they have transferred their residences to large towns. Several governors of provinces have warned the Government that it will be impossible to restore the estates to their owners. The peasants only view of the Imperial Duma is that it must assign them all agricultural lands immediately on assembling.

It is not an improvement of the old system that is demanded by the strongest force in Russia today. The masses are for outright collectivism. The reason we hear nothing of their leaders and much of their union of unions and federated groups is part of this ingrained idea that collectivism is the system for them. Russia has never shown any desire to develop along the line of the equality of opportunity (Heaven save the mark!) which has been the ideal of most Western political progress. The millions here are far more for sharing with each other when they can get the wherewithal to share.

The Russians are the most democratic people in the world. They have no innate deference for patrician caste or the successful man. The action of their strike leaders is based on the principle that their associations may be not only stronger but wiser than the individuals of which they are composed. Thus we get the amazing collection of unions which are being trained to common action against both the autocracy and the whole bureaucratic system.

God is spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth.—St. John IV, 24.

WHERE SOCIALISM WAS TRIED

(*Continued from Page 5*)

clerks, soldiers, policemen, and minor officials of every kind; so also were orators, poets, singers, artists; to the orphans and widows of soldiers, to the unfortunate and disabled, abundant pensions were extended. No citizen of Athens who was in health and willing to do a little service for the State had any need of continuing in want.

And see what these payments meant. Professor Boeckh, in his "Public Economy of Athens," estimates that prices in Athens under Pericles, were at least ten times lower than in modern times. He who received three obols a day therefore received the equivalent of ninety cents today. He probably received vastly more compared with modern city prices. Demosthenes speaks of a little house worth seven minæ (about $126). Houses could be bought for half that, or rented for five dollars per year. An ordinary slave brought about thirty-six dollars; meat (prepared for dinner) cost half an obol, and a warm drink, a chalcus, or half a cent. A fashionable tunic could be bought for two dollars and a workman's raiment for much less. Furniture was of the simplest, yet beautiful and durable. Demosthenes, with his mother and sister, were brought up on seven hundred drachmæ a year ($126). It must be remembered, too, that the greatest Athenians lived in the simplest way. Therefore those who were paid their three obols a day could not only live, but *live as did the best*.

Whence did this money come? Largely in socialistic ways. The foundation of the Attic treasury was the State-owned silver mines at Laurium, worked or leased for the profit of the city. Besides these the city owned lands (farms and building lots), forests pastures, salt works, markets, storehouses, other buildings, and leased them or worked them with slave labor for the common good. Next to these sources of income, probably, was the tribute paid by the allies, subject in reality to Athens, by her colonies and conquered territories. Beyond this were the taxes on the large foreign population of Athens and the duties on imports and exports. Athenian citizens paid no tax, except, perhaps, one on slaves, though all paid dues or fees for services in the courts. Such were the main regular sources of Athens's revenues.

But this was by no means all. The rich were made to pay, not indeed taxes, save on slaves, but the liturgics mentioned above. These were payments, *virtually compulsory*, made from time to time by wealthy individuals to establish and endow games, banquets. festivities, literary or musical contests, and largely for the benefit of the poor. Such were the *Choragia* or musical contests between drilled choirs, the *gymnasia* or gymnastic contests, the *theoria* or State festivals.

And be it remembered that all this expenditure for the poor was socialistic, not given in charity. The citizen worked for his pay. It was not the *panis et circus* of the Roman imperialism. Athens was democratic, not paternal. So far as her free citizens went she was fiercely democratic. Says Bluntschli ("Theory of the State"): "Democracy found its most logical expression in Athens." Says Pericles in his immortal Funeral Oration, preserved by Thucydides: "We are happy in a form of government . . original at Athens; and this our form, as committed, not to the few, but to the whole body of the people, is called a democracy." Readers of Plato will remember how he makes Protagoras say of the Ecclesia, "When some question of civil polity is to be discussed any one rises up and gives his advice, whether he be a builder, a brazier, a shoemaker, a merchant, a ship captain, rich or poor, of high birth or of low degree, and no one makes objection." The more one studies, the more one sees how socialistic was the city.

And now can we not plainly see how all this bore on the production of individuality? The Athenian was delivered, in the first place, from *the necessity to worry and "hustle," for a mere livelihood*. Any Athenian who wished it was allowed to devote his life to money-making. Some did, and accumulated wealth. But such were few, and those few were *compelled* to spend their money for the public good. The vast number of Athenians preferred, and *were encouraged to prefer* other things. *Commerce and trade were generally despised*, and usually left to foreigners or slaves. Bankers were sometimes slaves. *What Athens did encourage was art, learning, the intellect, philosophy*. To accomplish this she did do two things; first, she made it possible by her payments for all to enter these pursuits; and, secondly, she created emulation and rivalry in those lines by her contests and public festivals. Athens believed in competition, *but not of the market*. Athens's four hundered were artistic, not commercial. Can we wonder that such a system encouraged, fostered, produced high individuality? Where else in history has such a system been tried?

The greatest tragedies of Æschylus and of Sophocles were produced as plays in prize contests. Compare them with modern prize plays. They were not produced for money, and were for a different audience. The audiences were the judges; and they were capable, trained to judge. The drama, supported by the State, had no need of being ruled by the box office, and the people given money to go to the best and judge the best, became capable of the best. Hence the "Medea," "Electra," the "Prometheus Bound." It was so with architecture, with sculpture, with oratory. It was, above all, so with philosophy. The poorest Athenian citizen could go to Plato's Academy or Aristotle's Lyceum. Artisans could talk with Phidias and cobblers discuss with Sophocles. The City-State thus made possible and called out in every citizen the disposition to know and follow the Best. Now, this system of payments began, it is known, with Pericles, it ended in the downfall of Greece at Chæronea.

But why, we shall be asked, did Greece fall? For many re sons. *Greece was not moral*. Her socialism, we have sai was selfish. Her public men were often corrupt; her family was impure. Greece, too, was not socialistic. She was at b but a loose federation of competing republics. She fell before united Macedon, even as Macedon fell before the larger unity the Roman Empire. But did they not try a virtual Socialism Athens? And while it endured, did it not produce an individu ity elsewhere unequaled in the world?

Bishop Thornton's Thunderbolt

Bishop Thornton, of the church of England, made a sensation at the meeting of the "Christian Social Union" at Accrington recently by declaring:

"There is undoubtedly an economic muddle in England, so scathing in its effect that men are becoming in every way discontented. The tremendous inequality in the distribution of material wealth, is no longer endurable to a vast number of the less favored majority, and they are demanding an alteration. Poverty abounds. On every side want and destitution spread themselves. At the opposite end of the social scale, the favored class owns four-fifths of the soil. At one end of London wealth literally festers; at the other end ill clad, hopeless women work fifteen hours a day to keep body and soul together. And for the worker there is always the fear of unemployment. To be too often unemployed means destitution and degradation, and loss of character and capacity. And what of the children of the unemployed? There is a remedy", said the bishop, "for all these evils in socialism. Personally I believe in mere state socialism. The ownership of land should be treated as a trusteeship only, and our municipal life should control the drink traffic and the housing of the people."

The Church and Labor

At the recent national convention of the American Federation of Labor the following resolutions were passed:

"Whereas, the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, at its last national convention officially established a department of Church and Labor for the express purpose of making a systematic study of the labor problem; and,

Whereas, it is a part of the plan of this department to appoint in every industrial center special committees that may become experts in their knowledge of every phase of the labor movement, so that they may inform the churches with respect to the aims of organized labor; therefore, be it

Resolved, that the American Federation of Labor, in convention assembled, indorse this new and significant movement in the Presbyterian Church, and we further recommend that Central Labor Bodies co-operate with this department and with its sub-committees in every way that may be consistent, in order that the church and the public at large may have a more intelligent conception of the conditions and aspirations of the toilers."

In line with this general plan, the Convention resolved that:

"The American Federation of Labor recommend that all affiliated State and Central Bodies exchange fraternal delegates with the various state and city ministerial associations, wherever practicable, thus insuring a better understanding on the part of the church and clergy, of the aims and objects of the labor union movement of America."

Are you ordering a bundle of Christian Socialists as often as you can? Use this paper for propaganda.

BLACK FLAG OF FINANCE

Mr. Lawson speaks plainly of Wall street customs in Everybody's Magazine. He says:

"The truth is that in high finance all civilized amenities have long been suspended. The black flag is today the Wall street standard. Thuggery and assassination are so much the rule that nowadays all parties to a business transaction wear armor and carry stilettos. Property rights are vested in power; the sole license to have, is strength to hold; to covet another man's railway or factory is, if you be the stronger, full warrant and charter to its possession. In the pursuit of 'made dollars' greed and cunning lead the pack; kindliness, fair dealing, and truth have lost the scent. Today the penal code is Wall street's bible; its priest, the corporation lawyer; conscience is a fear of legal consequences; the sole crime, being caught; talent and character are best proved by a large bank account; to err is to fail; continued success in speculation and a few years' immunity from retributive justice constitute a reputation for virtue and stability that finds its highest justification as a handy asset behind a bond issue.

"It is the deplorable fact that in carrying through the great deals that have marked the last few years, it has become a habit for men to lie, cheat, bribe and commit perjury, and there is no more condemnation of such practices among those who are today the representatives of finance in America than there was in earlier times for the close-fisted driver of a hard but honest bargain. This is a broad statement, but everything I have written so far and the events of the last twelve months prove it is not exaggerated."

We still have a number of Mr. Rufus Weeks' pamphlets, "The Most Interesting Phenomenon of the Twentieth Century" and an "Appeal to the Churches by Socialist Christians."